

Message Text

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TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

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STADIS//////////

FOR ATHERTON FROM SAUNDERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR SOPN XF US

SUBJECT: ATHERTON SCHEDULE IN WASHINGTON

1. WE ARE SCHEDULING YOUR BACKGROUNDER WITH DEPARTMENT PRESS CORPS FOR 10 A.M. SATURDAY. HODDING BELIEVES THIS IS BEST TIME FOR YOU TO HAVE MEDIA IMPACT WE WILL NEED OVER WEEKEND. PROPOSED TALKING POINTS ARE BELOW.

2. YOUR SATURDAY MORNING SCHEDULE IS: 9 - MEETING WITH LEWIS, MYSELF, AND OTHERS; 10-10:45 - BACKGROUNDER; 11-NOON - MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY AND MIDDLE EAST GROUP.

3. WE HOPE YOU WILL BE ACTIVE ON HILL MONDAY AND ARE IN PROCESS OF SCHEDULING YOU WITH APPROPRIATE MEMBERS OF HIRC. WE ALSO HOPE FOR SOME ACTIVITY IN SENATE, ALTHOUGH THIS COULD BE DIFFICULT IF PANAMA CANAL VOTE IS SCHEDULED. AT SOME EARLY POINT WE HOPE YOU CAN HAVE PERSONAL PRIVATE

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MEETING WITH TIP O'NEILL AND SUCH OTHER MEMBERS OF HOUSE LEADERSHIP AS HE RECOMMENDS.

3. BRIEFING POINTS: BEGIN TEXT.

-- THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION IN THE PRESS ABOUT UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS.

THE PURPOSE OF MY CALL IS TO ANSWER QUESTIONS YOU MIGHT HAVE ON THE ISSUES, AND TO OUTLINE THEM IN THE CONTEXT OF U.S. ACTIVITY AS PARTICIPANT IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

-- WE ARE AT AN IMPORTANT POINT IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. SINCE THE SADAT VISIT TO JERUSALEM, ENOUGH DETAILED WORK HAS NOW BEEN DONE IN THE SECURITY AND POLITICAL COMMITTEES AND IN THE ATHERTON TALKS TO IDENTIFY WITH SOME PRECISION THE POINTS ON WHICH AGREEMENT IS CLOSE AND THOSE WHICH ARE NOT AGREED AND REQUIRE IMPORTANT DECISIONS.

-- THE VEHICLE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS IS A PROPOSED DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WHICH WOULD GOVERN MORE DETAILED NEGOTIATIONS ON SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS. WE DO NOT WANT TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS OF THOSE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT WE DO WANT TO EXPLAIN WHERE THE ISSUES NOW STAND.

-- WE BELIEVE IT IS NOW GENERALLY ACCEPTED BY THE PARTIES WILLING TO NEGOTIATE THAT THE SETTLEMENT WOULD BRING FULL PEACE WITH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC, COMMERCIAL, AND OTHER RELATIONSHIPS COMMON TO NEIGHBORS AT PEACE.

-- WE BELIEVE ALSO THAT THE PARTIES WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ACCEPT THAT ADEQUATE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS MUST BE PART OF ANY AGREEMENT.

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-- THE EGYPTIANS AND ISRAELIS SEEM TO HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS ON THIS SUBJECT.

-- THE ISSUE OF SECURITY IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IS MUCH MORE COMPLEX BECAUSE, IN ADDITION TO THE USUAL QUESTION OF ADEQUATE DEFENSE FOR ISRAEL AGAINST CONVENTIONAL ATTACK, THERE IS THE QUESTION OF HOW TO ASSURE THAT RADICAL POLITICAL GROUPS DO NOT TRANSFORM THESE AREAS INTO THE BASE FOR A SERIOUS SECURITY THREAT AGAINST ISRAEL.

-- IT IS AROUND THIS QUESTION OF THE PALESTINIANS' FUTURE AND THE WEST BANK AND GAZA THAT THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUES NOW ARISE. ATHERTON'S NEGOTIATIONS ON A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES HAVE IDENTIFIED THIS COMPLEX OF ISSUES AS THE MAIN AREA WHERE IMPORTANT ISSUES ARE YET TO BE RESOLVED.

-- WE HAVE RECOGNIZED SINCE BEFORE THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MET IN JERUSALEM THAT ISSUES AS COMPLEX AND POLITICALLY SENSITIVE AS THIS COULD NOT BE RESOLVED BY NEGOTIATING A SIMPLE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ALONE. WE THEREFORE PROPOSED A SECOND ITEM FOR THE AGENDA OF THE POLITICAL

COMMITTEE--GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ISSUES RELATING TO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. ATHERTON'S TALKS ALSO INVOLVE EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT BECAUSE WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE PARTIES CANNOT ACCEPT A GENERAL PRINCIPLE UNLESS THEY CAN FORESEE WHAT ARRANGEMENTS WOULD FLOW FROM IT.

-- IN OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT SEVERAL ISSUES HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED. CHIEF AMONG THEM ARE (A) WHETHER AND TO WHAT EXTENT ISRAELI FORCES WILL WITHDRAW FROM THESE TERRITORIES, (B) HOW WILL SECURITY BE ASSURED, AND (C) HOW WILL GOVERNMENT AND SOVEREIGNTY IN THESE AREAS EVOLVE.

-- YOU WILL RECALL THE BASIC EQUATION WHICH HAS GOVERNED
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PEACE EFFORTS SINCE 1967: IN RETURN FOR PEACE AND SECURITY ISRAEL WOULD WITHDRAW FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 CONFLICT, PERHAPS WITH MINOR BORDER RECTIFICATIONS. WE ARE NOW AT A POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHERE DECISIONS MUST BE MADE ON THE EXTENT OF THAT WITHDRAWAL.

-- THE U.S. VIEW, AS PRESIDENT CARTER HAS NOTED, HAS BEEN THAT 242 REQUIRED WITHDRAWAL ON "ALL FRONTS." WHEN 242 WAS ENACTED IN 1967, THE QUESTION WHETHER IT REQUIRED TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OR ONLY PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL WAS LEFT UNRESOLVED. WHEN THE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED AND SINCE THAT TIME, HOWEVER, IT HAS BEEN UNDERSTOOD BY ALL PARTIES INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES AND SUCCESSIVE ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS, THAT SOME WITHDRAWAL TO SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES WAS REQUIRED ON ALL FRONTS.

-- THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT IN JUNE, 1977, ACCEPTED 242 AS THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, THUS HONORING THE UNDERTAKING OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS. BEGIN'S CLAIM OF SOVEREIGNTY IN THE WEST BANK IN THE BEGIN PLAN, HOWEVER, AND OTHER RECENT ISRAELI STATEMENTS, HAVE RAISED A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER ISRAEL MAY BE RETRACTING ITS UNDERTAKING TO FULL ACCEPTANCE OF 242 AS THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

-- SPECIFICALLY, THERE IS A QUESTION OF THE APPLICATION OF 242'S WITHDRAWAL PROVISION TO THE WEST BANK/GAZA. FULL ACCEPTANCE THAT 242 APPLIES TO THE WEST BANK/GAZA IS ESSENTIAL TO GETTING A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND A

SUCCESSFUL WEST BANK/GAZA NEGOTIATION.

-- AS ENVISAGED IN 242, ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL MUST BE BALANCED BY MEASURES TO ENSURE ISRAEL'S SECURITY AND VITAL
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INTERESTS. THESE WILL HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATING THE DETAILED POLITICAL AND MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WHICH WOULD FLOW FROM AN AGREEMENT COVERING THOSE AREAS. NEGOTIATIONS CAN ONLY BEGIN ON THE BASIS OF FULL ACCEPTANCE OF 242. ACCEPTANCE OF 242, THEREFORE, IS NECESSARY IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND TO NEGOTIATE TERMS AND ARRANGEMENTS THAT WILL PROTECT ISRAEL'S VITAL INTERESTS. ONLY WITH ISRAEL'S FULL ACCEPTANCE OF 242 WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT TO MEET ISRAEL'S NEEDS. SUCH AN AGREEMENT MIGHT INCLUDE IDEAS LIKE THE FOLLOWING:

-- AN INTERIM PERIOD ON THE WEST BANK IN WHICH ISRAEL CAN TEST ARAB GOOD INTENTIONS BY

-- RETAINING SECURITY CONTROL AND

-- DRAWING ON EXPERIENCE WITH LIMITED SELF-RULE AS A BASIS FOR A SATISFACTORY DEFINITIVE POLITICAL REGIME.

-- THIS WILL PERMIT NEGOTIATION OF A SOLUTION WHICH PERMITS THE PALESTINIANS TO PARTICIPATE IN DETERMINING THEIR OWN FUTURE WHILE ASSURING ISRAEL AGAINST THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE HOSTILE TO ITS SECURITY.

-- WE DO NOT INTEND TO IMPOSE OUR IDEAS. WE BELIEVE THEY SHOULD EMERGE FROM NEGOTIATIONS. THOSE NEGOTIATIONS COULD FOLLOW A SATISFACTORY DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. THAT DECLARATION, TO ENABLE NEGOTIATIONS TO BEGIN, WILL HAVE TO ASSURE ALL PARTIES THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IS TO FIND A WAY IN WHICH WITHDRAWAL CAN TAKE PLACE AND PEACE AND SECURITY BE ESTABLISHED. END TEXT.
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